# Agricultural Reform Movements & Their Impacts on the peasants of Haryana: 1967-2000

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# Abstract

The role of the peasant mobilization in shaping the socio-economic transformation of Indian society and in determining the course of its history has remained a neglected field. Recently some historians impelled by the latest trend of writing history for below have dugout form the records, the important role played by these mobilization in changing the pace of socio-economic structure and national liberation with a view to projecting such a perspective, I have attempted to analyses and evaluate agricultural reform movement and peasant mobilization in Haryana: 1967-2000.

The state of Haryana came into being on Tuesday, 1st of November 1966 as the 17th State of the Indian Union, as a result of the reorganization of the erstwhile Punjab State into Haryana and Punjab. We discuss the present position and development that has been taken place during the 40 years in Haryana in various sectors, like agriculture mobilization, irrigation, animal husbandry, industries, transport, trade, banking, working population, health, education etc. it is not out of place to have a look on the state of Haryana economy on November 1, 1966.1

# Agriculture crops structure in Haryana: 1967-71

The alluvial of soils of Haryana are ideal for raising crops. Agriculture here is essentially a function of the availability of good water. Realizing this, all-out efforts were made since 1968 the present Government to extend the existing network of canals. These Herculean measures have resulted in a net addition of 10 lakh acres of irrigated area to the 44 lakh acres of irrigated area in 1968.Partly due to the availability of more water and partly to the extensive coverage of the cultivable area by the exotic and hybrid varieties, the food grain production in the State has more than doubled since 1968. The principal food grain crops of the region, namely, wheat, gram, barely, rice and Bajra, are showing buoyancy not exhibited elsewhere in that high measure. Our sugarcane production is more sufficient to meet the three sugar mills operating in the state, besides meeting the local requirements of Gur. We are thinking of setting up another sugar mill.2 The record food grain production has increased of 16.26 lakh tones obtained in 1969-70 was excelled in 1970-71 the final forecast being 47.33 lakh tones.

Sugarcane production has also increased from 4.75 lakh tones in 1967-68 to 6.98 lakh tones in 1970-71. During the current crop season, this level of production is envisaged to be maintained. The production of cotton and oilseeds has been stabilized despite competition from the high yielding varieties of food grains. Cotton crop is expected to be better than that of last year. Anticipated production in 1971-72 is 6.86 lakh tones. 3

Finances to the extent of Rs.22.47 crores have been mobilized for minor irrigation in past three years as against Rs. 2.35 crores in 1967-68. As a result of it, the number of tube wells in the

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state has increased from 54,497 in 1967-68 to 86,455 in 1970-71. There has been increase in the gross irrigated area from 1780 thousand hectares (4397 thousand acres) in 1967-68 to 2200 thousand hectares (5434 thousand acres) in 1970-71, i.e., an increase of about 25 percent. Programmes of Plant Protection, Horticulture and Vegetables development have also been strengthened. The farmers training and education has been given added attention and one more center for Karnal district has been sanctioned during this year. Trail Boring scheme has been revived with the provision of better and efficient rigs. Besides, programme for Integrated Agricultural Development in dry areas of Hissar and Mohindergarh districts, Pilot Project for Multiple Cropping in three blocks, viz., Gannaur, Kathura and Jind, Intensive Cotton District Programme, Hissar, have been got sanctioned from the Government of India on 100 percent basis. A World Bank Agricultural Credit Project has been sanctioned for importing 6000 tractors.4

### Agrarian structure in Haryana - 1970-80:

Agrarian structure is primarily an institutional framework of agriculture which includes the structural distribution of land holdings; the nature of land ownership; means and motives of production; mechanism of agricultural marketing and financing and; the services provided. Variation in any of these constituent elements causes variation in this institutional framework.Studies have considered the ownership of land holding so as to explain the changes in Agrarian structure. Moreover, this aspect has been of much economic and social significance in rural communities. In Indian social system it is not only the economic aspect but also the basic of social stratification power structure, family organization and belief systems.5

The agrarian structure of production relations indicates that the techniques of farm production differ from one another. In the first category with large size, it is mostly wage labour based on character to maximize surplus. The technique of production used by the tenant cultivator-leased holder and share cropper is, by and large, family labour based and to maximize total produce. Siri is in no way different from the landless agricultural laborer, except that he remains employed throughout the year ad swims and sinks with cultivator.

Thus there is institutional dualism because of the dialectics of land ownership and tenancy relations and technological dualism because of the operation of a dual mode of production technique.11

The Peasants were not satisfied with the prevalent agrarian system. So they raised their voice against it. Than reforms movements came into the existence. 6

### **Agriculture Reform movement: 1969**

In 28 February, 1969 the district of Karnal farmers faced the problems of flood relief, supplies of electric for land irrigation and rate of crops, fertilizers, seed, cement, oil and demand fixed prices. So kisan sabha's leadership in Karnal started Satyagraha for the strength of peasants more than two thousand people were involved in it. The court declared punishment and fine of 150 rupees or 25days in prison.15 as a result leaders refused fine and went in jail. On 23rd march as Sheedi Divas ceremony the memory of Sheed Aajm Bhagat Singh was conducted. Another prisoner involved in it and delivers speech on this topic. On 24 march eight peasants leaders released from jail when out the jail in front of stand mob by welcome of Kisan and goods carrier transport union members.7

In 1970 Government of joint Punjab two lakh acres of land distributed in peasants as on Patta for twenty years these land were unfrtilizers 17. The conditions of the patta used by peasants by seven years in useable and fertilizers and next thirteen years owner remain of land. If the upper condition not fulfills land will come back and gives another peasant.8

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The peasant will be pay the two or three rupees per acre rent of land and all these land government by gives Land Utilization Act used the right of this act Deputy commissioner and all 450 acres land gives Karnal cooperative farm handover. After seven years maximum labour used for fertile by pattadar. The shortage irrigation problem solved generated tube well and built new houses. The peasant's ropes crops in 1970 and pay rent of government after 1973 the time period of patta end. The government holds in 1970 taken the land right and disturbed of peasants.

So the resulted of action against kisan sabha 's leadership agitation and a conference organize of above 5000 peasants the president of conference Kamrad Amar Singh, secretary of Haryana Kisan Sabha Dr. Harnam Singh, Pardhan Ch. Risal Singh and local leaders Kamrad Ragubir Singh, Ratan Singh, Teja Singh, Satpal Singh were involved.9 In these conference Kamrad Satpal Singh from Karnal Kisan Sabha leader gives proposal one family right of ten acres land owners right and these proposal slow motion passed. After some time a delegation of farmers met the chief minister of Haryana Ch, Bansi Lal and told by peasants on Kaithal S.D.M.torture by all pattadar but C.M. not positive response because all power handover by Deputy Commissioner gives S.D.M.so all activities doing by this person. The government take the action on peasants and back all land of pattadar so 17 may the police of Haryana with planed less by gun and other arms ride on farmers and used tear gas and lathi charged in these action many people's were injured. The news papers of Milap has been given report told that the police lathic harge of peoples and used teargas10. Harnam Singh told that the police rude behave and beaten by peasants but the torture of police the peasants not stand by right of land plea by farmers in High court stay of landholders. Another Kisan Sabha continues conflict against Government. The leader of Kisan Sabha sound of peoples reached in Lok Sabha as the resulted the Member of Parliament Kamrad Bhugander Jha survey of co-operative farm and he met injured women in injured by police of Haryana. He told and promised by peasants problem discuss by Prime minister11.

After this agitation when met the Prime minister of India told the MP Jha and injured person story and gives memorandum. This memorandum in 1950 Government of joint Punjab two lakh acres of land distributed in peasants as on Patta for twenty years these land were unfrtilizers so these land hard labour by farmers useable but government of Haryana back of order land right12.

The Prime minister insured the delegation and talk about of these matter from Chief Minister of Haryana and solved the problem. On 28th May in Pahewa's Pattadhar agitation against the police . So the police order of article 144 in Pahewa and many peasants arrested by police. In these persons arrested Kamrad Ragubir singh, Baba Ajit Singh was involved. Another day again satayagrah by Kamrad Ragubir singh, Baba Ajit Singh but the police arrested goes to Kaithal Jail in these persons were torture 13. After some time given by bail. Last the result on 6th June Haryana chief minister and Sangras Samiti in between talk started about upon problem. In this meeting both the resolution were present and Sangras Samiti told that when given the on patta the rate of per acres 125 rupees and unfrtilizers convert into fertilizer more labour by peasants14.So the peasants not disowner ship of land but not result of this meeting and Ch. Bansi Lal promised to farmers not disown from land right when decision not out. The Sangras Samiti decided to if on first July Ch. Bansi Lal not solved the problem so we started the movement. But the government continues disowner ship from land and torture by government another police post set in farm that not inter in farmers meanwhile one year the matter in High Court. After the result in 1972 the decision of High court in favor of farmers and High court the land utilization act article proved the wrong and Deputy Commissioner not right disowner ship of farmers. After in1972 the resulted of High Court gives by decision get right of ownership on land of peasants.15

In August 1970 the Sirsa the Jagirdar access land occupied by landless Peasants , so the

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meeting on this topic in June district Karnal in Haryana Communist Party and Haryana Kisan Sabha has been decided access land of, Jagirdar ,Janglaat , Government land and unfrtilizers land distributed landless peasants decided in meeting of 15 August 1970.16

After the resulted in Sirsa in village of Bhumer in Seth Manhor Lal Ahuja laps of 150 acres land ill manners right by occupied. Meanwhile the five hundred landless peasants sore of slogan by "Dhan and Dharti bat kr rahgi" Raat Andhri kat kr rahgi" in 4 o'clock morning occupied by landless peasants and seeds of crops of Jawar and Bazra. 17.

On 9 August, the land of jagirdar Ram Lal Mehata village of Kuttavad's land 150 acres laps by landless peasants because of land allotted in landless peasants but jagirdar unruled ownership on these land. So the land into 40 families divided in landless peasants. On 12 August village of Jordnali's Seth Nand Lal above 100 acres land occupied by landless peasants and divided into 35 families. After this incident on 15 August the congress M.L.A. Shri Premsukh Das's land of 75 acres acquired by landless peasants18.

The Banking debt policy in favor of poor peasants and small interest gives debt by national banks. So the demand of this in all Haryana agitation by Kisan Sabha in this movement many peasants were arrested by police after some time above 4.00 p.m. was released. The peasants of Kamrade Surat Singh, Ramdyia , Amolk Raj Bathla ,Balkrshan , Ch. Dharm Singh were challaned . In Ladawa bank Garav by 100 peasants in this agitation 24 peoples in Dr. Vishnu Kumar Sharma , Kamrade Sadhu Ram , Kamrade Balk Ram were arrested by police so many city were movement as Thanser, Assand , Panipat , Ambala, Jagadhari etc. 19

In 1973 Haryana many city and villages shortage of electricity so the peasants were gathered in the leadership of Kisan Sabha and doing agitation. 2nd and 3rd January 1973 in Sahabad (kkr) Xen and Ismilabad S.D. O. electricity in front of the office peasants given by Bhookh Hartaal on five members were setting daily.20 The peasants demand of above twelve hours per day electric in used for tube well in spite of eight hours. Therefore in the same problem of Pehawa's peasants and started by movement against Department of power supplies in the leader ship of Kamrade Amar Singh, Teja Singh, Manjeet Singh, Satpal Singh has been given by speeches and agitation and Yamunanagar the peasants the leadership Kamrade Telu Ram and Ch. Trilok Singh three days Bhookh Hartaal of the office in front of the electricity .21

As the resulted of all Haryana agitation not fruitful So the peasants in the Leadership of Dr. Harnam Singh in 100 peoples reached in Harvana Bijli Board, Chandigarh in front of the office given by 5th -7th Feb. on Bhookh Hartaal and 17th feb. in front of Bijli Board given by agitation of peasants and said that if the situation of peasants crops very poor .22 So many demand in the Sabha and resolution passed twelve hours given by electricity supplies for wheat crops and with grantee. Secondly all line of power supplies fixed time and thirdly Fridabad and Panipat Tharmal Plant operating by first priority. So the demand of memorandum of present in Chief Engineer of Bijil Board, promised by given power supplies but the kisan Sabha leaders not satisfied so continues the agitation against demand 23. On 5th march again started agitation in front of Haryana Vidhan Sabha for one week Satayagrah and daily five members setting on against article 144 gives by self arrested. First batch of Kamrade Laxman Singh, Papnava, Second batch Kamrade Rattan Singh Pehawa, Third batch Ramkumar uppadya Papnaya's leadership were self arrested .24The fourth batch on 8th March in the Kamrade Brijlal the leadership of district Hisar. Therefore, the peasants given by thirty self arrested and one week lived in jail. The same movement in Sirsa district peasants agitation on the S.D.M. office the leadership[ of Haryana journal Secretary of Kisan Sabha Kamrade Baldev Bakhsi and present of demand letter . on 16 July 1974 the new land revenue, Shortage of Bijli and water, cement, oil,

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increase of fertilizer rate and other problem therefore one day Satayagarh in Chandigarh in front of Haryana secretariat above 150 peasants in the leadership of Dr. Harnam Singh president of Haryana Kisan Sabha and self arrested by himself and eighteen day stayed in jail 25.

# Cotton movement in Haryana: 1978

The leadership of Kisan Sabha in Sirsa cotton 300 peasants agitation against the cotton price given by government. The movement continuous thirteen days in agitation per day ten members collected setting in front of deputy commissioner office and demand by :-

1. The maximum cotton price gives by government.

2. The government back the decision spray of medicines on cotton by Helicopter, so the started by peasants movement. 26

Because the spray by helicopter used in medicines were fakes so the causes in many diseases in cotton crops. When crops the ripe taken by peasants in mandi the cotton dealers association rejected and next fifteen days not buy in it27. As the result in the maximum cotton stock comes mandi. Meanwhile the peasants started Dhrana in front of Deputy Commissioner Office. At lasts the demand accepted by administration and given by more prices of cotton and not compelled spray by helicopter, the agitation of leadership in Kamrade Baldev Bakshi, Jaichand, Karmchand, Basav Ram, Suvran Singh virk, Jaswant Singh Josh etc.28

In November 1978 again Sirsa peasants against the price of cotton Rs. 550, Rice Rs. 200, Bajra Rs. 125 per quintals and after selling the crops immigrate cash payment for demand by peasants so the origination a action committee in these committee involved Kisan Sabha and Janta party in main leader of kisan Sabha were Kamrade Baldev Bakshi, Jaichand, Karmchand, Basav Ram, Suvran Singh virk, Jaswant Singh Josh and Janta party 's leaders Baba Nirnjan Singh, Kundan Singh etc29. After the resulted of action committee had been decided on 3to 5 November all food grains of sirsa, Raniya, Dabwali, mandi will be strike and all toll tax stopped by peasants and continues strike when demand not be accepted by government. After some time the demand accepted by government and some prices were increased 30.

In April 1979 Haryana Kisan Sabha take the problems of peasants so started the movement and given memorandum of government.

- 1. The Government gives the price of wheat Rs. 130/quintal.
- 2. The power supplies per day 16 hours fixed flat rate Rs. 10 per horsepower.
- 3. The government gives compensation the damage by stone rainy crops per acre Rs. 1300/.
- 4. The issued insurance policy on crops by Government.

So the demand by peasant's time to time agitation and meetings, Sabha was or ganize by Kisan Sabha in Haryana. 31 In the leadership of kisan Sabha, District President Kamrade Jaswant Singh Josh and another members Kamrade Jaichand, Kamrade Suvran Singh virk, Kamrade Kasmir Singh Damdma organize the mass movement the demand of peasants at' Nehru park in Sirsa another cities like in Kurukshetra the leadership of Kamrade Gurcharn Singh District President of Kisan Sabha and journal secretary of Haryana Kisan Sabha, Kamrade Manjeet Singh and Partap Singh delivered speeches by people. The demand chart given by Kamrade Jarnal Singh , Chand Ram , and Pawan kumar in leadership stand by Deputy Commissioner Jind and setting by Dharna 21 days the same agitation in Saffidon given by Dharna in the leadership of Parthi Singh, and Darshan Singh 18 days after gives of Tehsildar the demand chart .In Narwana Tehsil of Jind district has been agitation by peasants by villagers in the leadership of Kamrade Omparakash Chopra and Omparakash puri in front of S.D.M. Office,

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the agitation by peasants of Panipat in the leadership of Surat Singh president of Haryana Kisan Sabha32 ,Ragubir Singh, Sadhu Ram reached in the court of S.D.M. speeches the mass peoples and demand chart handover, in Ambala the peasants of leadership of Gurmukh Singh , Telu Ram ,Avtar Singh , same agitation in Sonipat , Gurgoan , Sirsa also the main demand of peasants Power, Water, Engine Oil shortage in the state.33

In August 1980 Haryana another movement has been started by peasants the main demand of the government own expensive Pacci Naliya provided but government did not agree in view. Because Haryana and Punjab government debt from World Bank on these budget, but government tax on peasants did not justice34. So the demand of peasants were given by Pacci Naliya government, on 15 August 1980 Kisan Sangrash Samiti Visaal Rali in Jind participated above 10,000 peoples in this sabah main three parties by organized Haryana Kisan Sabha, Kisan Sabha Haryana Lok Dal 35.

On 8 November again same movement in Hansi tehsile in Hissar Pacci Naliya movement in the leadership of Lok Dal Party Chief Ch. Devi Lal and kisan Sabha, Haryana Kisan Sabha delivered speeches to people.36 22Septmber 1981 all Haryana peoples went to the Haryana Vidhan Sabha. They put the same demand mentioned above of Dharna37. When sited on Dharna of peasants the police got order of Laathi Charged in these incident many people's were injured.38 The same movement took place in another cities and town in Haryana and when taxes were not given by peasants of Haryana in 1983 back policy of Pacca Naala and in 1987 rebate in tax before election of Haryana Vidhan Sabha declared by Ch. Bansi Lal .39

# Sugarcane Movement in Haryana: 1968-1975

In November 1, 1966 rises the Haryana state separate form Punjab. The people of Haryana thinking about separate state lot of demand accepted by our leaders but in vain so the peasants run by many agitations. Newly state of Haryana first movement run by peasants in November 1968 in the against of sugarcane rate of Panipat sugar mill. On 25th November 1966 in front of sugar mill Panipat gathered Panchayat of peasants in the leadership of Ch.Inder Singh above the ten thousand peoples40. In this Sabha Ch. Dharm Singh Rathi , Dr. Harnam Singh of secretary of kisan Sabha Kamrad Surat Singh , President of Karnal Kisan Sabha , Ex. M.L.A. Ch. Randir Singh , Ch. Satbir Singh (Advocate ) and others kisan leader delivered the speech41.

The result of this panchyat resolution passed sugar cane rate as per quintal twelve rupees in supply for sugar mill. If sugar mill accepted the demand of peasants gives the supply of sugarcane. So these demand peasants challenged the administration of mill and gives Dharana on mill gate and police against the action of kisan on lathi charge and arrested by 73 peasants. The article of 382 arrested peasants' charge sheet in court. In first December strike will be remain and last moment the peasants and mill management conflict convert into pact and end of the Hartaal42.

The peasants of Rohtak against sugarcane rate gives by mill in December 1968 and started by agitation an organized of Sangrias Samiti43. In the leadership of Kamrad Chhatar Singh, Ch. Rijak Singh, Ch. Randir Singh M.L.A. and Ch. Randir Singh etc. The committee consisted price of sugar cane as per quintal 15 rupees and if the rate of sugarcane not gives will be strike after the result of the meeting not accepted demand by mill and started 200 people's gives Dharana in front of sugar mill gate. So the police were arrested Kamrad Chhatar Singh and others peasants and compelled peasants' supplies for sugarcane in mill.44.

But the reply of peasants' demands by 15 rupees rate of cane either went or jail. After the last conflict reached in the food supplies Minister Sh. Jagjiven Ram thinking these problem and Chief Minister of Haryana will be pact in peasant and mill gives order all matter solved. In 1969, the

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Yamunanagar sugarcane peasant agitation against sugar mill Sangrias Samiti gives the order of peasant for two days Hartaal the administration stopped the strike not succeed in action.45

In Jagidhari 22nd February 1975 the peasants against rate of sugarcane so they started Bhookh Hartaal in front of sugar mill gate in the leadership of Dr. Harnam Singh and Kamrade Telu Ram Jung and speeches the peoples46.

# **Poverty Alleviation Programmes in Haryana:**

Rural poverty is in intractably linked with low rural productivity and unemployment, including underemployment and disguised unemployment, employment at miserably low level of productivity and income is already a problem of greater magnitude than unemployment as such. There is some controversy about the percentage of population living below poverty line. The criteria for estimating the number of households bellows the poverty line are based on a person's nutritional requirement in terms of calories.

The researchers differ on the level of minimum consumption expenditure below which a person may be said to be below poverty line. It is assumed that the minimum nutritional requirement per person per day in the rural area. For this, the per capita monthly consumption expenditure at 1991-92 prices was Rs. 181.50 in rural poverty line in terms of per capita monthly expenditure was drawn at Rs. 131.80. The government of Haryana has undertaken the following Rural Development / poverty Alleviation Programmes in the State.

- 1. Integrated Rural Development Programmes (IRDP)
- 2. TRYSEM
- 3. DWCRA
- 4. National Rural Employment Programme.
- 5. Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme
- 6. Drought Prone Area Programme.
- 7. Desert Development Programme.
- 8. Integrated Waste Land Development Project and other schemes. 47

Importance of Agriculture in the economy of Haryana:

Agriculture continues to be the principle source of the state income during the 40 years. The sector contributes maximum towards state income as compared to other sectors. In the years 1970 -71 agriculture and allied activities contributed to Rs. 558.69 crore of state income of Rs. 86291 crore. In the 1980-81 primary sector contributed 53.8% at current prices in the state income. In the year 1993 -94 it contributed Rs. 9375.48 crore in the total income of Rs. 20242.91 crore forming 46.3% of state income. The second sector of contributed 32.6% of the state income. In the year 1997-98 agriculture and animal husbandry contributed Rs. 12332.2 crore out of net state income of Rs. 33274.60 crore farming 37.1% share. Secondary sector contributed 28.8% and tertiary sector 34.1% in the state income .48

### Peasant Upsurge in Haryana: 1993-2000

It is a continuing history of Treachery. A history of broken promises with impunity. It was the Bhajan Lal government of Congress -1, which killed peasants in police firing in 1993 at Nissing, a small town in Karnal District. Four were killed and many were wounded. Bansi Lal grabbed this opportunity and captured power. Peasants' problems were not solved. In south Haryana in 1997, the situation became explosive as the government did not solve the simple

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demand of repairing the damaged transformers which turned in to a demand of supplying electricity free. Peasant pro- tests took the shape of a 'rail roko' Police firing took place at Kadma and Man- diali where six peasants fell to police bullets. The Meham hooligan Om Parakash Chautala tried to brush off his tainted image and portay himself as kisan –putra (son of peasant), giving lofty promises to the masses in the election campaign and captured power. But when peasants began to demand the implementation of the promise of wiping out the old dues of electricity, another Meham was awaiting the peasantry. The three successive governments killed peasants on the issue of payment of electricity bills The most notorious in this regard is Chautala . His main slogan during the elections was free water and electricity. "No more electricity cuts and no more electricity bills "During the Bansi Lal regime Ch. O.P.Chautala exhorted people not to pay electricity bills. He won the elections and conveniently slept over the promises until his slumber was disturbed by the peasantry49.

The present crisis and the consequent resentment among the peasant masses, coincides with the onslaught of the imperialist directed new economic policies of privatization, liberalization and globalization. The WB-IMF – WTO asked the Indian ruling classes to liberalize everything, including agriculture. What does it mean to the peasantry? No subsidy to electricity and water, fertilizer or other agriculture inputs and products and for the freedom for entry of multinationals in the agricultural market. 50

When electricity rates were hiked during the Ch Bhajan Lal period, peasants opposed it bitterly as ready agriculture was in crisis. So the protest started from then, and is going on in one form or the other and so far twenty peasants have sacrificed their lives. Having taken loans from the World bank and to satisfy the conditions imposed all successive governments in Haryana have refused to reduce the hiked charges at all. As the water level is decreasing in general ,wherever tube well irrigation is prevalent ,the electricity costs are increasing and the hike in the rates were like a domicile 's sword over heads . That is why the slogan of free electricity was strike an instant cord with peasants and they were able to win the elections. But as the compradors cannot violate the conditions of the World Bank, they were resorting to severe repression to the peasants' dissent which has been erupting in one form or other since a decade.51

So it can be concluded that the state came in to being on Tuesday, 1st November 1966 as 17th state of the Indian Union and Haryana is one of the fastest growing States of India. Thus we have discussed in details on the major issues in Haryana after partition of Punjab. The major issues like agriculture reform, agrarian structure, and taxes reform movements like sugarcane, Cotton, electricity bill charges and the crops rate are defined in this research paper.

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